6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

643
443
656

## Ninetenth Chapter, in which is described the ordering of the market place, and [how] the ruler took great care of it.

The ruler took care of the directing of the market place and all things sold, for the good of the common folk, the vassals, and all dwellers in the city, the poor, the unfortunate, so that [these] might not be abused, nor suffer harm, nor be deceived nor disdained. Thus were things bought, or sold: they arranged them in order so that each thing sold would be placed separately—in its own place or station. They were not spread about in confusion.

Market place directors were appointed to office. They cared for, and attended to, the market place and all and each of the things sold—the merchandise which was there. Each of the directors took care, and was charged, that no one might deceive another, and how [articles] might be priced and sold.

[306] Separate were those who sold gold and silver, and green stone, and turquoise, and emeralds, and quetzal feathers, and [those of] the blue cotinga, and the red spoonbill, and all the various precious feathers of birds, which were needed for devices and shields.

[291 298] Separate were those who sold chocolate, aromatic herbs,[1] and vanilla. Apart were those who sold great capes, costly capes, embroidered capes, costly breech cloths, embroidered skirts and shifts, large common capes, maguey fiber capes, and thin maguey fiber capes.

[262] And all food necessary to them also was sold separately: dried grains of maize, white, black, red, and yellow; yellow beans, white ones, black, red; pinto beans; large beans; gray amaranth seed, red amaranth seed, and fish amaranth; white chía,[2] black chía, and the wrinkled variety;[3] salt; fowl; turkey cocks and hens; quail; rabbits, hares, and deer; ducks

## Ic caxtolli onnauj capitulo: ipan mjtoa, in tlatecpanalistli in tianqujsco: auh in ichoatl tlatoanj, cenca quimocuitlaujaia.

In tlatoanj quimocuitlaujaia ipan tlatoaia in tianquizti, ioã izquich tlanamactli, impampa cujtlapilli, atlapalli, maçeualli, ioan izquich aoa, tepeoa in jcnoelacatl, in motolinja, injc amo quequeloloz, injc amo xixicoloz, injc amo ica necacaiaoaloz, injc amo nexictilos, injc motlacouja, in anoço itla quimonamaquilia quitecpanaia, injc nononqua monamacaz, icecentlamantli tlanamactli, çan iiecian, çan iooneian, amo ixneliuhtoca,

quimjxquettaia, in tianquizpan tlaiacanque, in quimocuitlaujaia, in ipan tlatoaia in tianquizti: ioan izquich tlanamactli, icecẽtlamantli tlanamactli, tiamjctli, ipan manca, quimocuitlaujaia cecentlamantin tlaiacanque, in innecuitlaujl catca, injc aiac texiticoz, ioan quenjn tlapatiloaz, quenjn tlanamacoz.

Nonqua onoca in quinamaca in coztic, ioan iztac teucuitlatl, ioan chalchiujtl, ioan teuxiujtl ioã quetzalitztli, ioan quetzalli, ioã xiuhtototl, ioan tlauhquechol, ioan izquich nepapan totoiujtl, tlaçotli in jtech monequja tlaujztli chimalli.

Nonqua onoca in quinamaca cacaoatl, vej nacaztli, tilixochitl. Nonqua onoca in quinamaca veuej tilmatli, tlaçotilmatli, tlamachio tilmatli, tlaçomaxtlatl, tlamachcuejtl, tlamachvipilli, quachtli, ichtilmatli, aiatl,

ioan in izquich qualonj, in tetech monequj, no nonqua nonamaca, tlaolli iztac, iauhtlaolli xiuhtoctlaolli, coztic tlaolli, coztic etl, iztac etl, tliltetl, chichiltic etl, çolcujcujltic etl, aiecotli. Nexouhtli, chichiltic oauhtli, mjchioauhtli. Iztac chia, tiltic chiã, chiauatzotzol, iztzel: tzcoli, vexolotl, çiaoatzcoli, çoli, tochi, çitli, maçatl, canauhtli, atzitzicujlotl, pipixcan,

1. *Vid. supra*: *Cymbopetalum penduliflorum* (Dunal) Baill, in Sessaea, *op. cit.*, p. 335.
2. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 23, *supra*.
3. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 21, *supra*. Sahagún (Bustamante ed.), III, p. 61, says it is "una semilla como henojos blancos."



-67-

443 643 656 262

and other water birds,[4] gulls,[5] and wild geese;[6] maguey syrup and honey; hot chilis, chili from Atzitzinocan, small chilis,[7] chili powder, yellow chili, chili from the Cozinca, sharp-pointed red chilis, long chilis, smoked chilis; small, wild tomatoes,[8] and ordinary tomatoes.

tlalalacatl. Necuetzaoac, quauhnecutli, tonalchilli, atzitzinocaiod chilli, chiltecpin, teziochilli, chilcoztli, coujzcaiotl chilli, mjlchilli, viiac chilli, pochoac chilli, mjltomatl, xitomatl:

And separately were sold every kind of fruit: the American cherry, avocados, pluma, guavas, sweet potatoes, manihot,[9] sapotas,[10] anonas,[11] yellow sapotas, sapotillas,[12] *tejocotes*,[13] tuna cactus, mesquite beans, marchpane, *cacomites*,[14] *cimate* roots,[15] squash cut in pieces, chayote,[16] squash seeds, *Cazzia* seeds;[17] and white fish, frogs, and water dogs; water fly eggs, water flies, lake scum, and red shellfish; and white paper made of the bark of trees, and incense, and rubber, and lime, and obsidian; and firewood, and poles, logs, planks, and chips of wood; digging sticks, pointed oaken poles, hatchets, paddles, staves; maguey roots,[18] maguey fiber, and cured leather, and sandals; and copper axes, copper needles, and carpenters' and sculptors' copper chisels; and all manner of edible herbs—onions, water plant leaves, thistles,[19] amaranth greens and heads,[19a] purslane, mixed greens, varieties of sorrel;[20] tuna cactus fruit, sweet and acid; squash greens, tender young squash, squash blos-

[314] [317] 412 [413]

ioan nonqua monamaca, in jzquijtlamantli zochiqualli. Capoli, aoacatl, maçazocotl, xaxocotl, camotli, quauhcamotli, teçontzapotl, eciotzapotl, aztaçotl, tzapotl, tezocotl, nochtli, mjzquijtl, itlaaquijllo, chiancaca, cacomjtl, çimatl, aiotlatlapantli, chaiotli, aiooachtli, quauhaiooachtli, ioan iztac mjchin, cujatl, axolotl, aoauhtli, axaxaiacatl, tecujtlatl, incsujtli, ioan iztac quauhamatl, ioã copalli, ioan olli, ioan tenextli, ioan itztli, ioan tlatlatiliquaujtl, ioan quaoacatl, quammjmjlli, vapalli, tlaxamanjlli, victli, vitzoctli, tlateconj, aujctli, matlaquaujtl, menelhoatl, ichtli, ioan cuetlaxtli, ioan cactli, ioan teporzli, quauhxeloloni, ioan teporciolomjtl, ioan teporzli tlacujcujoaloni, ioan teporztlaquauhicujloloni, ioan in izquich tlamãtli qujlitl qualoni, xonacatl, tzaianalqujlitl, vitzqujlitl, oauhqujlitl, oauhzcoztli, itzmjqujlitl, qujllanenel, iztac xoxocoioli, xoxocoiohujujlan, nopalli, xoconochtli, axoxoco, aioiacaqujlitl, aionanacatl, aioxochqujlitl, eçoqujlitl, exotl, elotl, xilotl, oostl, mjiaostamalli,

4. *Atzitzicuilod*: "*son redondillos, tienen los picos largos, y agudos y negros; tienen los pies largos: son crasicrines y tienen el pecho blanco: dicen que nacen en la provincia de Anáhuac; viven a este Laguna de México entre las aguas o lluvia: son muy buenos de comer. Dicen que beben, y los verdes del agua, por tiempo se vuelven en pavos, dicen que los van criando a bandos en la mar, dentro del agua, y que nacen más pavones*" (*ibid.*, p. 178). Cf. also Sahagún, *Bibliographical Appendix*, p. 125, n. 1; Carlos A. Robelo: *Diccionario de Aztequismos* (Cuernavaca: Imprenta del autor, 1904), pp. 542-543. Beaumarais, *op. cit.*, I, p. 487 (*chichiculhua*) says there are two species—*Phalaropus wilsonii* SP and *Lobipes lobatus* L.

5. *Pipiaoa*: "*son blancos y del grandor de palomas, tienen alto pecho, crianse hacia la mar, y al tiempo de crecer el maiz vienen and dentro a la tierra; cuando crian sus nidos, entienden que es tiempo de sacar el maiz*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 183). In Beaumarais, *op. cit.*, II, p. 485, these are *Larus franklinii* SW & Rich, currently called *atepiocuitz*.

6. *Tlalcuecuel*: "*tienen cuellos . . . . grandes como los de Españas; tienen los pies colorados y el pico, son pardillos; tienen buena carne; tienen debajo plumas blancas y blandas, (y) de estas plumas se aprovechan para hacer mantas: las plumas de encima son recias, tienen buenas calidades para cazarlas*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 169). These (*tlalcuecuel*), according to Beaumarais, *op. cit.*, III, p. 194, are *Anser albifrons* Gld.

7. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 22, *supra*.—"*Ciertos géneros de chile llamados chilcoztic, muy sentidos y mezclados con ellos*" (Sahagún, *op. cit.*, p. 192)

8. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 20, *supra*.

9. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 10, *supra*.

10. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

11. Cf. Chap. 13, n. 8, *supra*.

12. Simões, *op. cit.*: note also, however, Chap. 13, n. 7, *supra*.

13. *Tejocotl*: *tejocote*—*Crataegus mexicana* Moc. (Beaumarais, *op. cit.*, III, p. 158).

14. *Cacomitl*: *cacomite*—*Tigridia pavonia* Ker; *cacomichichil*, *el edible root* (*ibid.*, I, p. 254). Also Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, p. 657.

15. *Cimatl*: *cimate*, a condiment (Beaumarais, *op. cit.*, I, p. 353). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, II, it is identified as *Convolvulus umbellatus* Hemsl. (p. 659) or *D. parviflorus* Mart. y Gal (p. 661).

16. *Chiotl*: *chayote*—*Sycios edulis*; *Iochiotes edule*; *Cucumis acutangulus* (Beaumarais, *op. cit.*, I, p. 477). In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, p. 168, *Iochiotes edule* Ser.

17. In Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 171ff., various kinds of *quauhpepenacht* are identified as *Jatropha curcas* Linn., *Manihot utilissima* (?) Pohl, *Croton* sp., *Cassia fistula* Linn.

18. *Metlatlauhcatl*: *cual* (maguey), *cuitlaxpatl* (*principio, excrimento*, in Molina, *op. cit.*).

19. Simões, *op. cit.*, p. 213, notes that Simões must be in error in translating *axiquilitl* as *mostaza*, since the latter is not native to Mexico; the *Badianus MS* (Fig. 10, 73) illustrates a thistle (*Cirsium* sp.). Beaumarais, *op. cit.*, II, p. 62, describes it (*giloquilitl*) as, "*En México especie de chardonde*" (*artichoke*).

19a. See Simões, *op. cit.*, pp. 565-6, 568. Simões suggests that "*huauhcuezli* may be a corruption of . . . *cuauhcuezli*," a chenopodium: *cf. Humulilus* and *C. pudibunda* are mentioned.

20. *Xocoxocoili*: *juagel*—*Oxalis corymbosa* H. B. K.; *O. corniculata* L.; *O. crenophylla* Cav.; *O. corniculata* Dc. (Beaumarais, *op. cit.*, II, p. 154). Hernández (*op. cit.*, p. 226) mentions other varieties of *Oxalis*, but on p. 213 notes that the term *xocoxocoili* is used also for *Rumex*, (subgenus *Acetosa*), and that *Acetosopsis* likewise identifies two species of *Begonia*.

mme; bean greens[21] and green beans; green maize, tender maize, tender maize stalks; tamales of maize blossoms, tortillas of green maize, and all edible things—tortillas, tamales, tamales and tortillas with honey, large tortillas, and rolled tortillas.

And also there were proprietors among whom were spread out smoking tubes, pipes, and cigars, [some] quite resinous and aromatic; and tobacco bowls; and large pottery braziers and hearths, and earthen basins, and pots, and jars for storing water, and settling jars, and flat cooking plates, and sauce vessels, and earthen cups, and everything [made of] earthenware.

And those who were directors of the market place, if they did not show concern over their office, were driven forth and made to abandon their office. And if someone sold stolen goods—perchance a costly cape, or a green stone,—if it were made known and he did not declare from whom he had bought that which had been stolen, they went to exact the penalty, and he died. Such was the sentence of the lords and judges, so that [men] would be fearful of that which was stolen and no one would buy it.

It was the duty of the market place folk to make the war provisions—biscuits, and finely ground, dried maize and chía seeds, and dried maize dough, and dried, lime-treated maize dough. With these was the market place charged, and the market place directors, the men and women thus appointed, were charged with assigning the tribute.

chtlaxcalli, ioan in jxquich qualonj, tlaxcalli, tamalli, 443
necutzmalli, necutlaxcalli, vei tlaxcalli, tlaxcal- 656
mjmjlli. 262

No ioan vncatca, in tlaiacanque in jpan manca 443
acaquauhtl, acaiiecti, iiectlalli, vel ocotzoio, ioan xoch- 463
iocomotl, ioan iiecaxitl, ioan apantlecaxitl, ioñ tle- 656
quantli, ioan apantli, ioan xoctli, ioan atlalilcomjtl,
ioan xoiocomjtl, ioan comalli, ioan molcaxitl, ioan in [276]
çoquitecomatl, ioñ in jxquich tlamantli çoquitlat- [415]
quitl.

Auh in ichoantin tianquizpan tlaiacanque, intla- [685]
casmo quimocuitlauia, intequjuh, totoco, ioan caoal-
tilo in jntequjuh. Auh intla aca tlachtectli quinamaca,
aço tlaçotilmatli, anoço chalchiuitl, intla oximach-
ililoc, intlacamo quinextia in aquin quicobujli, in
tlein tlachtectli, quitzacutiuh, mjquja, iuhquj tla-
tzontequjliaia, in tlatoque, tecutlatoque, ic mjmaca-
çia in tlein tlachtectli, aiac vel quicoaia,

in jntequjuh catca tianquizpantlaca quichiuaia 443
iiauhcacatl, in tlaxcaltotopochtli, ioan pinolli, ioan 722
tenextzalli, ioan nextamalhoatzalli, injc ipan tequitia 651
tianquizcatli, ioan tianquizpan tlaiacanque, in tlaix- 705
quetzalli oquichti, ioan çioa in tequitlatoque catca.

21. Sahagún, op. cit., p. 275, describes quauhtli as "bejar y verzas de los frijoles"; on p. 338, however, it is given as Amaranthus Mexicanus L.

[p. 70 is blank]